VOL. V, NO. 88
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29 1917

GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED
DEMOCRACY BEGINS AT HOME
MR. PRESIDENT WHAT
DEMOCRACY
Allender

LIBRARY
SEP
29
1917

TRAINING FOR THE DRAFT

National Woman's Party

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, LAFAYETTE SQUARE, WASHINGTON, D. C., *Tel. Main 5437*

BRANCH HEADQUARTERS

Connecticut, 456 Washington Street, Hartford

Delaware, 17 East 7th Street, Wilmington, *Tel. Wilmington* 5580

District of Columbia, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C., *Tel. Main* 5437

Indiana, 611 Fletcher Savings and Trust Co., Indianapolis

Maryland, 817 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, *Tel. Mt. Vernon* 3279

Massachusetts, 401 Phillips Building, 120 Tremont Street, Boston, *Tel. Fort Hill* 2825

Minnesota, 206 Studio Building, corner Market and Fourth Streets, St. Paul

New Jersey, 709 Union Building, Clinton Street, Newark

New York, 13 East 41st Street, New York, *Tel. Murray Hill* 5444
50 East 42d Street, N. Y. City (City Committee)
381 Main Street East, Rochester

Pennsylvania, 213 Hale Building, Philadelphia, *Tel. Filbert* 5652

Rhode Island, 557 Westminster Street, Providence

OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP. Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

Executive Committee

Miss Alice Paul, N. J., *Chairman*
Miss Anne Martin, Nev., *Vice-Chairman*
Miss Mabel Vernon, Nev., *Secretary*
Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, Md., *Treasurer*

Mrs. Robert Baker, D. C.
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.
Mrs. John W. Brannan, N. Y.
Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y.

Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.

Miss Doris Stevens, Neb.
Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

National Departments

Legislative
Chairman, Miss Anne Martin

Lobby Committee

Mrs. Robert Baker
Mrs. Alvin Barber
Mrs. Gilson Gardner
Mrs. William Kent
Mrs. George Odell
Miss Maude Younger

Demonstrations
Chairman, Miss Lucy Burns

National Headquarters Maintenance Committee
Mrs. William Kent

National Headquarters Manager
Mrs. Ella Morton Dean

Pageant
Miss Hazel MacKaye

Political
Miss Katherine Morey

Press
Chairman, Mrs. Robert Baker
Secretary, Miss Beulah Amidon

Supplies
Mrs. Bessie Papandre

Executive Secretaries

National Headquarters, Miss Virginia Arnold

Pennsylvania Headquarters, Miss Caroline Katzenstein

National Organizers

Miss Lucy Branham
Miss Alice Henkle
Miss Sarah Grant
Miss Berta Crone
Miss Iris Calderhead
Miss Elsie Hill
Miss Margery Ross
Miss Rebecca Hourwich
Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant
Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson
Miss Margaret Whittemore
Miss Joy Young

National Committee of State Chairmen

Alabama
Mrs. H. L. White
1026 South 32d St., Birmingham

Arizona
Mrs. H. L. Corl, Nogales (acting)

Arkansas
Mrs. Edward M. Jarrett
Little Rock

California
Mrs. Elinor Carlisle
Vine St., Berkeley

Colorado
Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler
1225 Wood Ave., Colorado Springs

Connecticut
Mrs. W. D. Ascough
456 Washington Street, Hartford

Delaware
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles
17 East 7th Street, Wilmington

District of Columbia
Mrs. W. Thompson Burch
21 Madison Place, Lafayette Square
Washington, D. C.

Florida
Mrs. A. Leight Monroe
215 11th Street, Miami

Georgia
Mrs. Beatrice Castleton
312 Healy Building, Atlanta

Idaho
Mrs. S. E. Beggs
Rathdum

Illinois
Mrs. Bertram Sippy
5616 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago

Indiana
Mrs. M. J. Anderson
932 N. Rural St.
Indianapolis

Iowa
Mrs. A. N. Beim
979 26th St., Des Moines

Kansas
Miss Maude Mary Kline
103 Western Ave., Topeka

Kentucky
Miss Edith Callahan
2016 3d Ave., Louisville

Louisiana
Mrs. M. L. Graham-Bankston
5321 Freret St., New Orleans

Maine
Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse
108 Vaughan Street, Portland

Maryland
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker
817 North Charles St., Baltimore

Massachusetts
Miss Olive M. Belches
Framingham

Michigan
Mrs. Nelson Whittemore
2967 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit

Minnesota
Mrs. A. R. Colvin
Davern Avenue, St. Paul

Mississippi
Mrs. A. C. R. Richardson
313 N. State Street
Jackson

Missouri
Mrs. Edith Barriger
5430 Cabanne Avenue, St. Louis

Montana
Mrs. C. S. Haire
528 Hemlock Street, Helena

Nevada
Mrs. M. S. Bonnifield
Winnemucca

New Hampshire
Miss Sallie W. Hovey
214 State Street, Portsmouth

New Jersey
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins
709 Union Building, Clinton St.
Newark

New Mexico
Mrs. Joshua Raynolds
308 South High Street, Albuquerque

New York
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont
13 East 41st Street, New York City
Mrs. John Winters Brannan (acting)
125 East 57th Street, New York City

North Carolina
Mrs. Arthur Taylor
805 Worthington Ave., Charlotte

North Dakota
Mrs. Elizabeth Darrow O'Neil
714 Eighth Street, Fargo

Ohio
Mrs. Valentine Winters
319 West 1st St., Dayton

Oregon
Dr. Florence Manion
1010 Selling Building, Portland

Pennsylvania
Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy
213 Hale Bldg., Philadelphia

Rhode Island
Mrs. Richard Jackson Barker
"The Outlook," Tiverton

South Carolina
Mrs. W. P. Vaughan
Greenville

South Dakota
Mrs. A. R. Fellows
Sioux Falls

Tennessee
Mrs. L. Crozier French
620 West Cumberland Ave., Knoxville

Texas
Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe
909 West 18th Street, Austin

Utah
Mrs. Elizabeth Jenkins
37 South 6th St. East, Salt Lake City

Vermont
Mrs. J. Borden Estee
Montpelier

Virginia
Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith
204 East Grace Street, Richmond

Washington
Mrs. Frederick Forrest
2417 Pacific Ave., Spokane

Wisconsin
Miss Ada James
Richland Center

Wyoming
Dr. Frances M. Lane, Cody

National Advisory Council

Chairman, Mrs. John Rogers, N. Y.

Secretary Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

Mrs. Frederick T. Ackermann, N. Y.
Mrs. Robert Adamson, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles E. Amidon, N. Dak.
Miss Jessie Ashley, N. Y.
Dr. S. Josephine Baker, N. Y.
Miss Mary E. Bakewell, Pa.
Mrs. Bion H. Barnett, Fla.
Mrs. Cyrus Beard, Wyo.
Mrs. Mary Ritter Beard, N. Y.
Mrs. William B. Boulton, N. J.
Mrs. Howard P. Boyle, N. J.
Mrs. Virginia M. Branner, Iowa
Mrs. Alfred H. Bright, Minn.
Reverend Olympia Brown, Wis.
Mrs. Robert Bruere, N. Y.
Miss Mary A. Burnham, Pa.
Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, Col.
Mrs. Anne Wells Cannon, Utah
Mrs. John Carey, Ind.
Mrs. Joseph Carey, Wyo.
Mrs. Thomas L. Chadbourne, N. Y.
Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, Utah
Mrs. William L. Colt, N. Y.
Miss Anna Constable, N. Y.
Mrs. Vincent Cook, Ore.
Mrs. Avery Coonley, Ill.
Mrs. Frank Cothren, N. Y.
Mrs. Julius Crisler, Miss.
Mrs. R. P. Crump, Miss.
Mrs. Lucius M. Cuthbert, Col.
Mrs. George H. Day, Conn.
Dr. Maria M. Dean, Mont.
Miss Lavinia Dock, Pa.
Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, N. Y.
Miss Crystal Eastman, N. Y.
Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Cal.
Mrs. Robert Patterson Finley, N. J.
Mrs. William Floyd, N. Y.
Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest, D. C.
Mrs. J. Andre Fouilhoux, Ore.
Miss Susan P. Frost, S. C.
Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, Md.
Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, Cal.
Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, N. Y.
Mrs. Adolphus E. Graupner, Cal.
Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Pa.
Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, Mich.
Mrs. W. E. Hardy, Neb.
Mrs. F. R. Hazard, N. Y.
Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Cal.
Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, N. Y.
Mrs. George Hendrie, Mich.
Mrs. Elon Hooker, N. Y.
Mrs. Henry E. Hovey, N. H.
Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, N. Y.
Miss Mary Ingham, Pa.
Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles Gilmore Kerley, N. Y.
Dr. Cora Smith King, Wash.
Mrs. Otto Kirchner, Mich.
Mrs. Alexander Kohut, N. Y.
Miss Fola La Follette, N. Y.
Miss Gail Laughlin, Cal.
Miss Stephanie Levert, La.
Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Ill.
Dr. Sarah H. Lockrey, Pa.
Mrs. Harry Lowenburg, Pa.
Miss Belle McGibeny, N. J.
Miss Bernice McCoy, Idaho
Mrs. Benton MacKaye, D. C.
Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, Cal.
Mrs. Lionel S. Marks, Mass.
Mrs. Marcus M. Marks, N. Y.
Miss Julia Marlowe, N. Y.
Miss Helen Marot, N. Y.
Mrs. Harris Masterson, Texas
Miss Edythe Wynne Matthison, Conn.
Miss Marion May, N. Y.
Mrs. Cyrus Mead, Ohio
Miss Vida Milholland, N. Y.
Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe, Kans.
Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, Mass.
Mrs. John T. Morrison, Idaho
Mrs. Henry Moskowitz, N. Y.
Mrs. William Spencer Murray, Md.
Mrs. Adelina Otero-Warren, N. M.
Mrs. Marsden Perry, R. I.
Mrs. Amos Pinchot, N. Y.
Mrs. Annie Porritt, Conn.
Mrs. Alden Potter, Minn.
Mrs. James M. Rector, Ohio
Mrs. Henry Ridgly, Del.
Miss Ella Riegel, Pa.
Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, Ill.
Mrs. A. S. Rossin, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles Edward Russell, D. C.
Mrs. Frederick Sanborn, Cal.
Mrs. Townsend Scott, Md.
Mrs. Eugene Shippen, Mich.
Mrs. Frances Thurber Seal, N. Y.
Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Ind.
Mrs. Austin Sperry, Cal.
Mrs. Albert Steinfeld, Ariz.
Mrs. Julius Stone, Ohio
Miss Grace Strachan, N. Y.
Dr. Elizabeth Thelberg, N. Y.
Mrs. David D. Terry, Ark.
Mrs. Mary C. Therkelsen, Ore.
Mrs. Robert Gibbes Thomas, S. C.
Miss Clara L. Thompson, Mo.
Mrs. Shelley Tollhurst, Cal.
Mrs. Samuel Untermeyer, N. Y.
Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C.
Mrs. Hattie D. M. Wallis, Texas
Mrs. Thomas F. Walsh, D. C.
Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, D. C.
Dr. Marion Walker Williams, Ariz.
Mrs. S. B. M. Young, Mont.
Mrs. Fanny Bloomfield Zeisler, Ill.

Notes of the Week

"The President May Help Substantially"

THESE are the words of a correspondent who is said to be "the President's rubber stamp," in speaking of the reception of Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse by the President this week. The New York suffragist came to ask help for the New York State campaign.

"The President has already written a letter showing his interest in the movement," remarks this naive young man, "by wishing it success at the polls, and probably will assist *even more substantially* later on."

This substantial help, it is said, will take the form of a suffrage speech in New York at the close of the State campaign.

Suffragists will await eagerly this second appearance of the President of the United States on a suffrage platform. The President has some explaining to do to the women of the nation. His Administration has arrested hundreds of women for petitioning for liberty. Dozens will be still in a Government workhouse at the time his probable speech is made. More will be expected of the President on this occasion than language on "tides rising to meet the moon" and vague promises.

Suffrage Speaker Sounds a Warning

MRS. THERESA MALKIEL, in describing her up-State suffrage tour in New York, tells of towns left almost manless where women and children both work. She reports seeing children of three paid one cent a pound for stringing beans; and women taking the place of men in many industries.

"As for equal pay for equal work," she said, "women who have taken men's places in automobile and various steel and munition industries, are getting sixteen cents an hour, where the men made forty cents. It may be patriotism to take the place of a man who is helping to 'make the world safe for democracy,' but it will result in a reduction of the standard of wages."

This is the evil that the women of Great Britain and the Scandinavian nations are organizing at present to prevent. The unprotected workers of America, with too much faith in the wordy promises of a war President, may find themselves lagging behind the nations of the earth after the great war.

Picket Tactics Win Sincerest Flattery

IN December, when Congress re-convenes, it is likely that a demand not unlike the picket of the National Woman's Party will be undertaken by the colored men of the Nation. At the annual convention of the National Equal Rights League in New York, it was decided to send representatives to the Capital in December to seek recognition for the demands growing out of the St. Louis riots; and to remain on the ground until official recognition is given by Congress.

"So heavy grow our burdens and so galling our yoke that patience on our part will soon become a crime against ourselves," declared these delegates, in a document that might have been a suffrage demand of any year from Susan B. Anthony's first bill of rights to the last picket banner of 1917.

Suffragists will watch with interest this politically constructive step on the part of another subject class.

A Premier's Promise

EVEN should the Canadian War Time Elections Act enfranchising some women and disfranchising many men fail, Premier Borden promises full suffrage to Canadian women if he is returned to power. In a published letter the Premier not only promises full suffrage, but also an enactment that will guarantee to the British woman her citizenship even though married to a foreigner. He says:

"In case I am returned to power, it is my purpose to place upon the statute book a measure granting the franchise to all women of British birth, and conferring upon women of foreign birth the right to seek and obtain naturalization on their own behalf, so that they may thus become endowed with the same privilege after suitable residence in this country and perhaps after suitable education tests.

"The measure should provide that a woman of British citizenship should not lose that citizenship upon her marriage except with her own consent."

Women to Join Railway Brotherhoods

WHILE the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defence undertakes the huge task of registering all women for a possible war-time need; while the "liberty loan committee," headed by Mrs. McAdoo, plans to have all women's organizations help float the coming three billion dollar bond issue, women are already quietly taking up the work of the country. The invasion is so gradual it is scarcely noticed. In the South women are being used as waitresses on trains and as car cleaners, as well as track hands.

The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, at their Texas convention, decided last week, anticipating this change, to admit women doing men's work to full membership. This move ahead on the part of a powerful Brotherhood is significant. Labor women may soon find themselves in a position to make a definite demand for national political liberty of a President who, it will be remembered, was forced to make the great labor concession of recent years to the Railway Brotherhoods.

Autocratic Germany Listens to Her Women

EVEN in autocratic Germany that we are now setting out to "democratize," the demand for the political equality of women is becoming an agitated question. The past three years' changes in the social and economic life of women in Germany have pushed the question of suffrage for women into the front rank as a war question. The National Union for Woman Suffrage, an organization with ninety branches in the Empire, has petitioned for the inclusion of women in the reform proposals for the representation of the people in the Reichstag and in the federal states. The constitutional committee have also been asked by women leaders that woman suffrage be included as an indispensable condition in all constitutional reform proposals as a matter of wartime justice and expediency. These demands on the part of women have been received in Germany with a significant respect that should quicken action in this backward "democracy."

Swedish Women in Politics

SWEDISH women ran as special candidates during the recent town council elections in Stockholm. The conservative party, numerically the strongest, returned two women members —Gertrude Tornell, an active member of the board of the Stockholm suffrage society, and Laura Netzell, who is an expert in poor law matters. Women members of the liberal party returned Emilia Broome, who, as a former member of the town council, was active in starting municipal technical schools, building workmen's houses and demanding better wages for women clerks.

More Advice for Russia on Democracy

PRESIDENT WILSON is about to send another "mission" to Russia, a mission of a different complexion from that headed by Envoy Root, whom Russia did not take kindly to as interpreter of the democratic purposes of the United States in the war.

That the possible mission may be a labor mission, selected by the labor and so-called "loyalist" group of the Socialist party, is indicated by the deputation received by the President last week to suggest this plan. The men received were Mr. Gompers, Mr. John Spargo, Mr. Frank Morrison, Mr. Grant Hamilton, Mr. J. G. Phelps-Stokes, Dr. N. Syrkin, Mr. H. Slobodin, Mr. Morris Kass, Mr. William C. Corcoran and Mr. Robert Maisel.

At least one of these men many months ago told the President that our democratic boast is hollow until the women of this nation are nationally enfranchised. Whether Mr. Spargo again reminded the President of our imperfect democracy is unknown; but it becomes daily more certain that we must take the beam out of our own eye before we can advise free Russia. Even the President is reaching this realization.

Two Letters from Occoquan

THE two letters below were written by two of the nineteen suffrage pickets imprisoned in the Government workhouse at Occoquan for petitioning the President of the United States with suffrage banners. Miss Mary Winsor, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, is one of the State leaders of the Woman's Party.

Miss Gwenter is a young Russian girl who has been in this country ten years. She was born in Kiev, Russia, and has relatives now fighting for the new Russian Republic. Both communications were written on scraps of paper and given to visitors to the workhouse to transmit to THE SUFFRAGIST and to Congressman London.

OCCOQUAN, Sunday, August 16.

IN an interview this morning with Superintendent Whittaker, I reminded him that Dr. Hornbalser, the prison doctor, had authorized me nearly ten days ago to order from Philadelphia certain medicines to be used for nose and throat trouble, the medicines having been prescribed for me by Dr. Frances P. Packerd, of Philadelphia, a throat and nose specialist of national reputation. I also reminded Mr. Whittaker that he himself had received a letter from my family physician, Dr. George Gerhard, one of the leading doctors of Philadelphia, recommending that on account of my frail health, I be allowed to wear warm under clothing.

Having been told by Mrs. Herndon, the head matron, that packages had arrived for me several days ago, I requested that these packages be opened, as they doubtless contained the articles I needed, and I asked why the medicines, from the lack of which I was intensely uncomfortable, had not been given me.

Mr. Whittaker replied, "I am through with you!" and ordered me to leave the room, adding that as he had not heard from the prison doctor in regard to the medicines I could not have them until he had. I answered that it was nearly ten days since the prison doctor had authorized me to order the medicines, and it seemed strange that the superintendent and the doctor, both members of the same institution, had such difficulty in communicating with each other; that, moreover, I was constitutionally liable to heavy catarrhal colds, and as a direct result of such colds I had had at different periods three very severe attacks of ear-ache.

These attacks, I told him, were liable to bring on deafness, as well as the intense suffering they inflicted, and the medicines were absolutely necessary to keep catarrh in check. I told him that if he persisted in withholding them from me I thought he ought, in justice to himself, to realize what he was doing.

Mr. Whittaker replied that I "could not make him realize anything; he was in charge of my health, and he would set up his opinion against that of any number of doctors." He said he very much doubted whether I would be given any warm underclothing.

I answered that I considered that he was practicing cruelty on prisoners.

Mr. Whittaker answered: "Very well, I am willing to practice cruelty." I was so shocked at this that I asked him to repeat it, and then told him I thought this should be made known.

He sneeringly asked then what I could do about it. "We are alone," he said. "There are no witnesses to this conversation, and any judge, any court, will take my word against yours, or against any number of the Congressmen who are coming down here to investigate."

Before leaving him I finally asked permission to write a letter of condolence to my aunt, who wanted very much to hear from me, as she was in great distress over her husband's death. I had been informed of my uncle's death only since entering Occoquan, and I wished very much to write to her. Mr. Whittaker refused. His manner was exceedingly violent and brutal.

MARY WINSOR.

[NOTE TO THE SUFFRAGIST—Since writing the above, with some difficulty, I obtained the use of the medicines, but am now not permitted to write to any of my family.]

COMRADE MEYER LONDON: I am eight years in this movement, three and a half years a member of the Socialist party, Branches 2 and 4 of the Bronx, and I have been an active member of the Waist Makers' Union since 1910. I am from New York, but am now in Baltimore, where I got acquainted with the comrades who asked me to picket the White House and, of course, I expressed my willingness to help the movement. I am now in the workhouse. I want to get out and help in the work as I am more revolutionary than the Woman's Party, *yet conditions here are so bad that I feel I must stay here and help women get their rights. We are enslaved here.* I am suffering very much from hunger and am nearly blind from bad nourishment. The food is chiefly soup, cereal with worms, bread just baked and very heavy. Even of this poor food we do not get enough. I do not eat meat. When I told the doctor that, he said, "You must eat, and if you do not like it here, you go and tell the judge you won't picket any more, and then you can get out of here." But I told him that I could not go against my principles and my belief. He asked, "Do you believe you should break the law?" I replied, "I have picketed whenever I had a chance for eight years and have never broken the law. Picketing is legal."

Please come here as quickly as possible, as we need your help.

Will you give the information in this letter to the newspapers?

Please pardon this scrap of paper as I have nothing else to write on. I would write to other comrades, to Hillquit or Paulsen, but you are in Congress and can do more.

Yours for the Cause,

(Signed) ANNA GWENTER.

Occoquan Workhouse, Friday, September 21.

Richard Bennett, Actor, Asks the Secretary of War a Question

NEW YORK, Sept. 22, 1917.

Copy of Telegram to

HON. NEWTON BAKER,
Secretary of War,
War Department,
Washington, D. C.

I have been asked to go to France personally, with the films of "Damaged Goods," as head of a lecture corps to the American army. On reliable authority I am told that American women, because they have dared demand their political freedom, are held in vile conditions in the Government workhouse in Washington; are compelled to paint negro toilets for eight hours a day; are denied decent food and denied communication with counsel. Why should I work for democracy in Europe when our American women are denied democracy at home? If I am to fight for social hygiene in France, why not begin at Occoquan workhouse?

RICHARD BENNETT.

THIS week it has been learned that Mrs. Frederick Kendall, of Buffalo, one of the suffrage prisoners, a frail and highly strung woman, has been placed in a so-called "punishment cell" at Occoquan workhouse with bread and water her only food. For trying to speak to Mrs. Kendall through the cell door to ask how she was, Miss Lucy Burns, another suffrage prisoner, was placed on a bread and water diet.

When Superintendent Whittaker was asked concerning Mrs. Kendall, he said he had no knowledge that she was ever in a "punishment cell," though she was there at the moment he was speaking. The facts were learned by Miss Beulah Amidon who, allowed to visit the workhouse to confer with Miss Margaret Fotheringham on business in relation to her position, saw all of the prisoners and learned the facts concerning Mrs. Kendall, who was at the time in the "punishment cell."

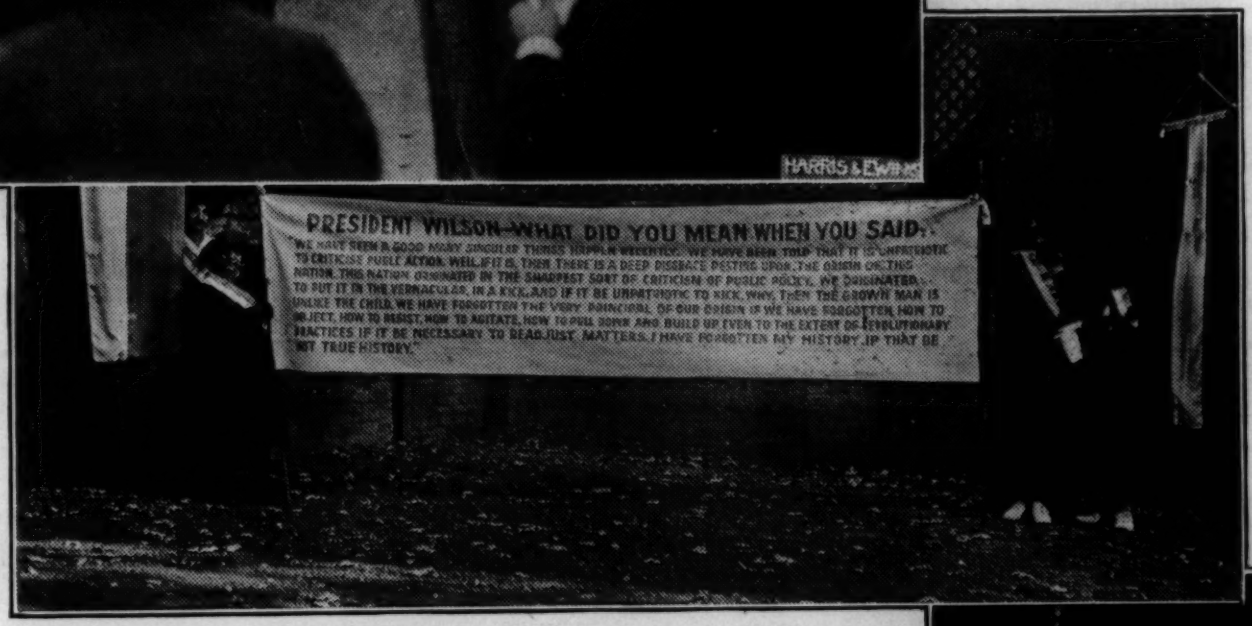
She was placed in the cell for "impudence:" she protested to a matron that scrubbing floors was too heavy work for her, as she had not been able for days to eat the prison food.

Superintendent Whittaker is making the greatest effort at present to keep the facts concerning the workhouse treatment of suffragists from the public. Women have now been denied counsel or any communication with the outside world, with the exception of two prisoners who have relatives within reach; and they have been allowed to see prisoners only on the condition that no information concerning the workhouse was given out by them.

The President's "Seditious" Banner

President Wilson, what did you mean when you said:

"We have seen a good many singular things happen recently. We have been told that it is unpatriotic to criticise public action. Well, if it is, then there is a deep disgrace resting upon the origin of this nation. This nation originated in the sharpest sort of criticism of public policy. We originated, to put it in the vernacular, in a kick, and if it be unpatriotic to kick, why, then the grown man is unlike the child. We have forgotten the very principle of our origin if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices, if it be necessary to readjust matters. I have forgotten my history if that be not true history."


PRESIDENT WILSON—WHAT DID YOU MEAN WHEN YOU SAID:
"WE HAVE SEEN A GOOD MANY SINGULAR THINGS HAPPEN RECENTLY. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT IT IS UNPATRIOTIC TO CRITICISE PUBLIC ACTION. WELL, IF IT IS, THEN THERE IS A DEEP DISGRACE RESTING UPON THE ORIGIN OF THIS NATION. THIS NATION ORIGINATED IN THE SHARPEST SORT OF CRITICISM OF PUBLIC POLICY. WE ORIGINATED, TO PUT IT IN THE VERNACULAR, IN A KICK, AND IF IT BE UNPATRIOTIC TO KICK, WHY, THEN THE GROWN MAN IS UNLIKE THE CHILD. WE HAVE FORGOTTEN THE VERY PRINCIPLE OF OUR ORIGIN IF WE HAVE FORGOTTEN HOW TO OBJECT, HOW TO RESIST, HOW TO AGITATE, HOW TO PULL DOWN AND BUILD UP, EVEN TO THE EXTENT OF REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICES IF IT BE NECESSARY TO READJUST MATTERS. I HAVE FORGOTTEN MY HISTORY IF THAT BE NOT TRUE HISTORY."

ABOVE is the message on a great banner which this week caused the arrest of four more suffragists in the National Capital. The words are taken from an early and injudicious statement of the President of the United States, written at a time when he evidently did not contemplate being elected to his present office.

The young women who held this reminder of early democracy at the gates of the White House represented not only the West and the South, but two of the overseas nations whom we are supposed to be aiding in their fight against autocracy. These young women are Mrs. Peggy John, a newspaperwoman of St. Louis; Mrs. Margaret Wood Kessler, vice-president of the Woman's Progressive Club of Colorado; Miss Ernestine Hara, a young Roumanian girl; and Miss Hilda Blumberg, a Russian, both of New York.

When the pickets this week took up their stations at the East gate of the White House, and unfurled the "seditious" utterance of the President himself, the banner was almost immediately confiscated by the two police officers who had hurried to the spot. They seemed anxious to keep from the little pressing crowd the fact that the President had once been not only a Democrat, but a democrat.

The two officers then stood directly in front of the little group of women carrying tri-colored flags, with their backs to what crowd there was. More than half of the wide White House sidewalks were vacant of pedestrians. The officers had evidently been ordered to let the crowd collect for a certain number of minutes before they arrested the women. They betrayed not the slightest interest in the spectators, but watched their victims with bored attention as they waited for the patrol. The above photograph, taken on the spot, just before the arrival of the patrol, shows the two officers with their backs to the curious little group of spectators.

THE four young women were, on the following day, after the usual court proceeding, sentenced to thirty days in the Government workhouse for "obstructing traffic."

A brief statement was made by each of the little group: "We are not citizens," said these young women. "We are not represented. We were silently, peacefully attempting to gain the freedom of twenty million women in the United States of America. We have broken no law. We are guilty of no crime. We have been illegally arrested. We demand our freedom, and we shall continue to ask for it until the Government acts."

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status

In the Senate

On the calendar awaiting a vote.

In the House

Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editor, Miss Pauline Clarke

Associate Editors

Miss Lavinia Dock — Mrs. Gilson Gardner — Miss Pauline Jacobson

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Business Department

Advertising, Miss Hazel Hunkins *Circulation*, Miss Elizabeth Smith

Subscription: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies, 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post-office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

35

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

The Real Advance

THIS week a resolution creating a committee on woman suffrage in the House was passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of one hundred and eighty-one to one hundred and seven in favor of the committee, a significant suffrage majority. The resolution was sponsored by Chairman Pou, of the Rules Committee, an Administration leader.

Last week the Susan B. Anthony amendment, after a burial of six months, was reported out of the Senate Suffrage Committee to a place on the calendar of the Senate.

These are suffrage advances. But they are only the indices of the real advance which suffrage for the women of the nation has made during the session which is now closing. The real advance is the completely changed position which has been forced on the President of the United States during the last few months. For without the President of the United States the suffrage amendment would still be in the keeping of his Administration guardian, Mr. Jones. Without the President, the resolution calling for a suffrage committee in the House would still be held from debate and passage by Mr. Pou.

The Democratic caucus pledged itself at the beginning of the present emergency session to a consideration of none but war measures. Women immediately demonstrated that suffrage was a war measure, proven so by the Government itself in the demands made on women. But Congress and the President turned a deaf ear, not only on authoritative speakers at hearings and deputations, but also on the thousands of women of the nation who had translated their faith into action by taking up war work.

Then the suffrage picket of the National Woman's Party began to tell the world of the anomalous position of the President and Congress, asking women as well as men to make sacrifices for an overseas democracy which was denied to twenty million women at home.

They contrasted this "democracy" with forward-looking England, Canada, Russia. They convicted the President of hypocrisy out of his own mouth. And those accusing banners carried far.

The attempt of the Administration to suppress those colored flags, the mobbing, the arresting, the imprisoning of American women asking for liberty, is a dark blot on the record of the Democratic party that it will take many years to live down.

But this short-sighted policy of persecution, which is still going on, has borne fruit. Never have so many suffrage concessions been made to the women of the nation as the President has made during the last few months. Women have been rewarded by war-time office; State campaigns have been graciously wished well by the President; the suffrage measure itself was released from its Administration graveyard; and now a Woman Suffrage Committee has been created—to do what Mr. Webb, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, could have done six months ago had the President at that time learned his lesson.

No speeches ever made before a representative body bore more plainly the marks of the party goad than did the denunciations and recriminations leveled by majority leaders at women who had dared to petition for their liberty with banners in war time. They leveled denunciations—but they passed an unimportant suffrage measure by a majority that demonstrated the Authority behind the vote.

These suffrage concesisons are important advances only in that they clearly show the changing attitude the President has been forced to. They are plain indications that he will also be forced to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment as a war measure, after five years of protest or silence on his part as a partisan Democrat.

But the fact that the President of the United States is destined to explain for the rest of his life, is why he consented to the unlawful imprisonment of hundreds of American women asking for liberty. It is, in the last analysis, not the President of the United States, but those American women, willing to go to prison for their beliefs, who will have forced at last the enfranchisement of the women of this Nation.

A House Woman-Suffrage Committee Created

AFTER a heated debate that proved that the suffrage picket has bitten more deeply into the political consciousness of Congress than any congressman would be frank enough to admit, the House of Representatives passed, by a large majority, a resolution forming a woman suffrage committee in the House to consider exclusively the matter of votes for women. This step is significant in that the measure, first agitated by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage (now the National Woman's Party) in 1913 and steadily opposed by the Administration, could not have been passed at this time without Administration support. The vote stood, yeas 181, nays 107. With but few exceptions it was a rigidly partisan vote, and proves the five-year-old contention of the leaders of the Woman's Party: that the passage of the suffrage amendment is a question of party support.

Suffragists and anti-suffragists of all descriptions had a chance at this House debate to air their views. There were the tried and true States' righters; there were those opposed to any shade of suffrage; there were those in favor of suffrage but not in favor of a committee; and those in favor of a committee and not in favor of suffrage; there were those who refused to violate a war session by a thought of suffrage, and finally those who made this debate a chance to make the Woman's Party suffrage picket the scapegoat for what is called the unsuccess of the suffrage cause at the present time. For this is the Congressional fiction of the present moment —that the suffrage picket has "set back the cause."

As Mr. French, of Idaho, neatly said, "The very words of the opposition are the strongest argument." Because these words of the opposition are an index to the mental processes of certain opponents of woman suffrage it is illuminating to publish widely, not only the remarks of the known friends of suffrage, but also these examples of Congressional cerebration of the various shades of the opposition.

From the protest of Mr. Webb, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and long the suffrage stumbling block of the House, who now protested the "deifying of the woman suffrage measure, putting it on a pedestal and shoving it through the House to the exclusion of all other important matters;"—to the utterance of Mr. Cantrill, who as a red-blooded Kentuckian demanded that suffragists be respectably jailed by the police with their banners instead of being mobbed,—the fact that in the National Capital women had dared to petition the President of the United States and Congress with banners in wartime was never far from the consciousness of the gentlemen who represent the women of this republic. Of the two hundred and ninety-one present not one man squarely stood for the right of these hundreds of American women to petition for justice, though many deplored the fact that tardy action on the part of Congress in regard to a mere committee *would be interpreted by the country as the result of the suffrage picket.*

REPRESENTATIVE POU, in opening the debate, spoke of the nation-wide request for the measure and the President's sanction. From this moment heated in the extreme were the accusations and counter accusations concerning—not the granting of long-delayed justice to women, but a committee to consider that matter.

Mr. Meeker, of Missouri, spoke for the respectable Antis, "not willing to get into some sort of gear and walk up and down the streets and make nuisances of themselves," and protested Congress "yielding to the nagging of a certain group."

Mr. Cantrill believed that "millions of Christian women in the nation should not be denied the right of having a committee in the House to study the problem of suffrage because of the mistakes of some few of their sisters."

"One had as well say," he went on, "that there should be no police force in Washington, because the police force of this city permitted daily thousands of people to obstruct the streets and impede traffic and permitted almost the mobbing of women without arresting the offenders. There was a lawful and peaceful way in which the police of this city could have taken charge of the banners of the pickets without permitting the women carrying them to be the objects of mob violence. To see women roughly handled by rough men on the streets of the Capital of the nation is not a pleasing sight to Kentuckians and to red-blooded Americans, and let us hope that the like will never again be seen here."

Mr. Webb, as a concession, promised to report woman suffrage from its long sleep in the Judiciary Committee *unfavorably* next December, if allowed to continue as arbiter of the fate of woman suffrage, and then, in a pique, accused his honorable colleagues of wanting to "pack the new committee" and "create a new chairman, a new secretary, a new assistant clerk, and a new janitor."

Mr. Walsh, the anti-suffrage member from Massachusetts, deplored taking any action "which will seem to yield to the demands of some iron-jawed angels who have been picketing the gateways to the Executive Mansion and flaunting in the face of the Chief Magistrate of this nation banners seemingly treasonable and seditious in character and which if used by a poor workingman in an attempt to get his rights would speedily have put him behind the bars for treason or sedition; and these poor, bewildered, deluded creatures, after their disgusting exhibition, can thank their stars that because they wear skirts they are now incarcerated for misdemeanors of a minor character." He went on to say that to "supinely yield to a certain class of women picketing the gates of the official residence—yes, even posing with their short skirts and short hair within the view of *this very Capitol and our office building,* with banners which would seek to lead the people to believe that because we did not take action during this war session upon suffrage, if you please, and grant them the right of the ballot, that we were traitors to the cause of the American Republic," would be monstrous.

Representative Stafford, of Wisconsin, was even more haunted by the suffrage pickets: "If a suffrage committee is created," he said, "the militant class will exclaim, 'Ah, see how we have driven the great House of Representatives to recognize our rights. If we keep up the same sort of practices we will compel the House, when they come to vote on the constitutional amendment, to surrender obeisantly likewise.'

"Gentlemen, there is only one question before the House today, and that is, if you look at it from a political aspect, whether you wish to approve the practices of these women who have been disgracing their cause here in Washington for the past several months."

IF there were sentiments of the calibre of the above, there were also splendid protests against longer delaying the creation of a committee to deal directly with a question that must be settled next session, on the part of representatives from the suffrage and non-suffrage States alike,—including Representatives Mondell, of Wyoming; Blanton, of Texas; London, of New York; Volstead, of Minnesota; French, of Tennessee; Campbell, of Kansas, and others.

Meyer London struck a modern note and spoke with breadth of vision of that "better world" which the present war world itself is to force upon civilization: "The extension of woman's suffrage means a contribution to genuine democracy. It will mean that for the first time in history the individual will be recognized as the basis of the community.

"We can recognize only one basis for legislation—that which comes from a free expression of the will of all the individuals who compose society.

"The unit of civilized life is the individual.

"That is why woman's suffrage has so much significance for the men who dream of a better society.

"We are on the threshold of a nobler civilization.

"The past is undergoing merciless scrutiny. We are revising our laws and our codes of morals.

"We cannot rest content; and while the world cannot be changed by the lawmaking power only, the participation of every human being in the making of a better world cannot be denied.

"The extension of the franchise to woman means the extension of democracy. It means an opportunity to every human being to contribute his or her share to the building of a better world."

REPRESENTATIVE VOLSTEAD protested with courage as to the "ruthless warfare" of the Administration itself in regard to the shameful mobbing of the suffrage pickets in front of the White House.

"In this discussion some very unfair comments have been made upon the women who picketed the White House. While I do not approve of picket-

ing, I disapprove much more strongly the hoodlum methods pursued in suppressing the practice. I gather from the press that this is what took place: Some women did, in a peaceable and perfectly lawful manner, display suffrage banners on the public street near the White House. To stop this the police allowed the women to be mobbed, and then because the mob obstructed the street the women were arrested and fined, while the mob went scot-free. This occurrence reminds one of the disgraceful attack made on the suffrage parade in this city a few years ago. Does not such shameless conduct argue that women do need the vote to protect themselves? If the guardians of peace and those who boast of their chivalry to women have no more regard for woman's rights than this argues, it is high time that something besides cheap politics be demanded.

"I was sorry to note that several speakers made disparaging remarks about the women who ask a right to vote. Heat of debate cannot justify this. No better women can be found anywhere than can be found among the hundreds of thousands enlisted in this cause. One of the unkindest cuts of all was an insinuation that certain women demanded as a condition for their patriotic support of the Government in this war that suffrage be granted to them. Though I have been present at all the suffrage hearings had before the Judiciary Committee during the last four or five years, no organization and no individual has urged anything that by any fair construction could be tortured into any such attitude. Such a suggestion is not only without foundation, it is cruel. It is ruthless warfare."

REPRESENTATIVE CAMPBELL, of Kansas, answered with derision the arguments against the Committee on Woman Suffrage of the States' rights Democrats.

"Why gentlemen who have voted for appropriations to exterminate the boll weevil down in Georgia and Texas and Alabama should raise the question of State sovereignty and State rights when the question of the right of women to vote is under consideration is something that I cannot understand. Is the boll weevil of more importance in Georgia and Alabama than woman suffrage? You did not raise the question of State rights then, or assert the question of the duty of a State. You insisted that the Federal Government should cross the State line and do the thing that the planter theretofore had done for himself, or that the county might well have done, or that the State might have done. But, oh no, you lost sight of all these questions and went to the Federal authority. You have been doing it upon so many questions that it is most natural that those of us who have always believed that this was a Nation spelled with a big 'N' did not have the cold chills when we saw another question of nation-wide importance forcing itself for consideration upon the federal Congress. We believe that this question rightly belongs to the Nation, to the federal Government, and that the creation of this committee is a mere incident in the consideration of that great subject."

THE debate in the House was in charge of the Rules Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Pou, who was given unanimous consent for two hours of debate, one hour divided between Mr. Pou, and the Republican leader of the Rules Committee, Mr. Campbell. The other hour of debate was controlled by Representative Garrett, of Tennessee, who was opposed to the measure.

The measure asking for a woman suffrage resolution in the House, which at the close of this debate became a fact, was first agitated by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage in 1913, that the suffrage measure might be accorded the same speedy consideration in the House as in the Senate. Two hearings before the Rules Committee have been had by the Congressional Union and the National Woman's Party, the last held this session of Congress.

An analysis of the vote on this committee, as an index on the present alignment for and against woman suffrage, will be printed in the next SUFFRAGIST.

Democracy Gains an Inch

By Herbert N. Pinkham, Jr.

THE Susan B. Anthony resolution for a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution sees the light of day at a moment in our history when the United States Government must either press the cause of universal enfranchisement or issue a new definition of its professed solicitude for world democracy.

Universal suffrage, share and share alike for the men and the women, who are equally responsible for national weal in peace or in war, has become a part of the framework of a new social structure. If this country rejects it, we build our new democratic era on a false foundation. England and Russia have led. America can do no less than follow.

A volume could be written of each year's experience of the American suffragists in their endeavor to get the Susan B. Anthony amendment before Congress. Promises have been made and broken; a marvel of political juggling has been performed before the eyes of woman petitioners.

This year, at a crisis in world affairs and with the United States calling upon its women for the greatest sacrifice in the nation's life, the more aggressive suffragists have carried their plea before the nation more literally than by the unnoticed petitions addressed to the President and the members of the Congress. Their sometimes undignified though always justified method was to appeal to the President direct, with material evidence of their presence at the capital. Some of them are in jail today for the crime of carrying banners in the streets—"obstructing traffic," as the complaint reads.

Also, one of the foremost men in the Democratic party—a man who single-handed had done more for the election of Mr. Wilson than any whole State organization—publicly resigned from high Government office because he considered that the Administration had violated its obligations in the matter of woman suffrage.

THESE items of appeal probably had more to do with the favorable report by a Senate committee than had been accomplished by any sitting up o' nights thinking of world democracy.

Universal suffrage in America is nearer today than ever before, distant though it still may be. The women who have fought for this cause in season and out, who have interpreted their duties and fixed their aims with the broader vision of world destiny as guide, have won a great victory.

Public enmity, public scorn—both directed by men, who control the sneering power of the nation—have not discouraged them; the adamant attitude of a President who favored universal suffrage yet refused to sanction it, has not frightened them. Even so slight an advance as a committee's report is a substantial triumph of women's courage.

This is the first opportunity offered to Congress to perform any actual service toward the ideal of self-government, liberty and democracy for which the nation fights and for which we may sacrifice a million men. There have been national promises, national creeds, national messages of hope, but thus far not one chance for Congress to echo the cry for democracy.

Here is the chance.

America is marching to carry freedom and equality to the farthermost corners of the earth. Congress will pass the suffrage amendment and allow the country to vote for or against the enfranchisement of women.

If Congress does less, a light line will be read into the heavy code of American democracy.—*The Boston Journal, September 14, 1917.*

Connecticut State Leaders Join the National Woman's Party

MRS. THOMAS N. HEPBURN, of Hartford, President of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, and Mrs. M. Toscan Bennet, also of Hartford, Treasurer of the State Association and President of the Hartford Equal Franchise League, have withdrawn from the State Association that they might devote their whole energy to the enfranchisement of women at this time as a war measure. Their withdrawal grows out of their belief in the direct and energetic methods of the Woman's Party as exemplified in the suffrage picket in Washington which Miss Catherine Flannagan, headquarters secretary of the Connecticut organization made part of. It was following Miss Flannagan's release from Occoquan, where she had been imprisoned for picketing, that the two leaders gave up State work. With them in their belief is Miss Emily Pierson and Miss Katherine Mullen, State organizers. The resignations of the five aggressive Connecticut leaders were accepted by the executive board of the Association.

The letters of Mrs. Hepburn, who has headed the State Association for several years, and Mrs. Bennet, were direct and sincere statements concerning the necessity of the continued agitation of women in the face of war. Mrs. Hepburn said finally:

Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn and Her Children

"TODAY national work is of first importance. Women now vote in nineteen States for President, and it is obvious that the shortest way to secure suffrage for all the women of the United States is for suffragists to concentrate on the federal amendment instead of trying to secure the vote through State action.

"Today, more than ever, the importance of woman suffrage is thrown into high relief. England, Russia, and Canada have given women the vote since the war began. With their men gone, it is imperative for the women left at home, the only representatives of their families, to have a voice in the government. Both industrially and politically women in war time have to do the work of men who have gone to the front. Our Government should pass the federal amendment at once and take the first step toward giving women the power to protect themselves and their families. But we know that the Government will not do this unless those most interested insist upon it.

"We have gone to war for democracy—and yet millions of women in our own country are denied the right to vote. Simply mentioning this fact in suffrage journals and to suffrage audiences is futile. We must say it in such a way that all the world will hear, and that is what the pickets of the Woman's Party have done at Washington. My sympathies are all with them. I admire their honesty, their self-forgetfulness and their practical wisdom. In my opinion it is through such women as these that we shall secure the suffrage in Connecticut by federal amendment. In future I shall support the Woman's Party."

Mrs. Bennet, in speaking of taking up the more direct fight for the federal amendment, says:

"BELIEVING as I do, no course appears honorable to me except the one I have adopted. Believing as I do, it is basically impossible for me to continue my official connection with a group who seem to require me to deny the faith that is in me. Believing as I do, I feel spiritually bound to reserve to myself the right to express freely by speech and action my fundamental convictions. Whatever other work I may feel called upon to perform, I cannot forsake a task which lies so close to my heart, nor abandon to the vituperative epithets of foe and fair-weather friend the women whose convictions seem to be as my own.

"The Washington pickets seem to me to embody the spiritual principle which has been responsible for every great advance in civilization. They and their associates have clung to this faith in spite of every obstacle and hindrance, legal and illegal, which could be raised against them. And now to crown their sacrifice they are being accused of the very crime their inability to commit which is responsible for their doing what they are doing. 'Pro-German, traitors, disloyal,' are but a few of the names which have been applied to them even by suffragists. Calumny is heaped upon them by those who are unable to see that it is this very loyalty to their country which compels them to suffer.

"That the day of the realization of democracy may soon dawn, not only in Europe, but here at home as well, they have fought and will continue to fight, even as their men will soon be fighting. These women have not the time nor the will to explain. Their acts must speak for themselves with those who can see and understand. They have given generously, freely, not alone in the line of pure suffrage work, but in straight war help as well. Those who impugn their motives must do so from ignorance or malice; they cannot or will not understand, and I cannot bring myself to add to their burden even by my silence."

Comments of the Press

A Man with a Conscience

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE is evidently a man with a conscience. He has resigned his lucrative position as United States customs collector at New York because the Democratic Administration, instead of enfranchising the women, claps them in jail for exercising their constitutional right to petition the Government for redress of grievances. It is believed that Mr. Malone is the man who elected Mr. Wilson President last fall. . . .

Mr. Malone now wants and has all along wanted the Administration to make good on that promise. A couple of months ago, it was stated that he had threatened to resign if the promise were not kept. His resignation, therefore, does not come as a surprise either to the people or to the Administration. The Administration had due notice of it. Evidently, it deliberately decided not to put the amendment through.

Thus 20,000,000 women are slapped in the face.

These women are informed that they have no rights in a country which alleges that it is fighting for democracy. When they try to exercise their constitutional right to petition the Government for redress of grievances, they are arrested on the charge of obstructing traffic.

No wonder Mr. Malone resigned.

Under such circumstances he could not have preserved his self-respect in any other way. He has severed his official connection with the Administration in order that he may be free to help make the United States safe for democracy.—*Milwaukee Leader, September 10, 1917.*

Malone and the Pickets

REFERRING to the dozen or more White House suffrage pickets who are partaking of prison fare in the workhouse at Occoquan, Virginia, the Springfield *Republican* observes:

"There is nothing heroic about 'doing time' because of conduct calculated to injure a good cause, and the wonder is that women otherwise accounted sensible fail to recognize this."

There may be room for two opinions on the point. Are these women actually hurting a good cause? Undoubtedly they have been hurting the sensibilities of certain people who have sought relief by having many cultured, refined and gently nurtured women clapped into prison under conditions shocking to their every fiber and shocking also to the feelings of decent men and women all over the land. Of course these women have not been jailed for picketing. No. That would be almost too raw.

Instead they have been imprisoned for "obstructing traffic," although everybody knows that it was not they who obstructed traffic, but the mobs which gathered about them to insult and terrorize them. Why were not the mobs arrested for obstructing traffic? Why were they not given thirty or sixty days in the workhouse along with thieves and bums and habitues of the dens and joints of the Capital? Why were they suffered to go free while these fine women from some of the best homes in America were carted off into ignominious bondage under a false pretense? . . .

The suffragists believed and they still believe that by picketing the White House and the Capitol they are calling attention to their cause more sharply than would otherwise be possible. And there can be no reasonable question of the fact that they have succeeded in a very striking manner.

That sympathy is growing in their behalf is hardly to be denied. The action of Dudley Field Malone in resigning the collectorship of the great port of New York for the purpose of devoting himself to their cause is profoundly significant. His letter to President Wilson cannot fail to produce a tremendous effect on the women of the United States.

Mr. Malone has been one of the President's sturdiest friends and supporters. He has stood with him loyally for seven long years, fighting his battles, upholding his policies, defending his course and in every way devoting himself to the interests which Mr. Wilson has had at heart. But he now breaks with the President and in effect lays down the gage of battle. He cannot retain his self-respect and his office under the President; and so he quits the office; he quits it for the express purpose of joining the White House pickets in their crusade for a right which has thus far been denied.—*Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, September 10, 1917.*

The Country's Hyprocrisy

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE'S recent letter to President Wilson, which accompanied his resignation from the important and lucrative post of collector of the Port of New York, is as comprehensive and convincing a statement of the present status of woman's suffrage in the United States as we have seen. It carries unusual weight, not only because of Mr. Malone's recognized ability and sanity upon public questions and his peculiar political and personal connection with the President, but also because he has demonstrated the supreme courage of his convictions by giving up what is considered one of the choicest plums in the gift of the President, for the sake of the cause he has espoused. . . .

There is yet time for Congress to withdraw the country from the hypocritical position it is now maintaining when it poses before the nations of the world as a champion of democracy while denying democracy to twenty million patriotic women within its own boundaries.

The Susan B. Anthony federal amendment for the enfranchisement of American women should be passed at once as a war measure. Every person who stands in the way of its passage is a traitor to the cause of true democracy—regardless of the depth of his or her concern for the democracy of nations that is to come out of the great war.

Like charity, justice begins at home. Before the President and his Congress can expect the entirely whole-hearted concern of American women for justice in Belgium, they must see to it that all need of concern for justice in the United States is eliminated by the passage of the federal suffrage amendment.—*Colorado Springs Gazette, September 12, 1917.*

A Party's Obligation

COLLECTOR MALONE'S letter to the President pleading the justice of the woman suffrage cause and its urgency as a war measure and his resignation of the important office which he holds at New York in order that he may fulfill his pledges to the enfranchised women of the West and devote his time to the furtherance of the movement for the suffrage amendment to the federal constitution is a dramatic stroke. . . . When Mr. Malone and other Democratic campaign speakers in the suffrage States plead for and won the women's votes a moral obligation was incurred which has not been fulfilled by the titular head of the Democratic party.—*Philadelphia Public Ledger, September 9, 1917.*

Sturdy Recruit for Equal Suffrage

MORE power to Dudley Malone's persuasive oratory! In resigning the lucrative office of colector of the Port of New York, to take the field for equal suffrage, the sturdy Democrat is fulfilling a pledge made to the women of California last fall when he assured them that if they would vote for Wilson he would devote his time and energy to the adoption of the federal suffrage amendment by the present Democratic Administration. . . .

While nations far less advanced than America are vying with one another to do belated justice to their women, the leading exponent of representative government is found denying the adoption of a resolution affirming belief in a pure democracy. There is need of Dudley Malone's missionary zeal to right this wrong, and of many others like him, if America is to show a consistent front in the war she is now waging.—*Richmond (Va.) Evening Journal, September 8, 1917.*

MEMORIES OF INEZ MILHOLLAND BOISSEVAIN

THE FRIENDS OF INEZ MILHOLLAND BOISSEVAIN IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD ARE ASKED TO ASSIST IN WRITING THIS BOOK. THOSE WHO KNEW MRS. BOISSEVAIN AT ANY PERIOD OF HER BRIEF LIFE—DURING HER SCHOOL DAYS, ABROAD, OR AFTER SHE TOOK UP HER WORK IN THIS COUNTRY, ARE ASKED TO WRITE THESE MEMORIES, COMMUNICATING WITH HER FATHER, MR. JOHN E. MILHOLLAND, CARE OF "THE SUFFRAGIST."

A Rare Phenomenon

A SUCCESSFUL politician who is willing to sacrifice his career for his ideals is a rare phenomenon, indeed. Mr. Malone deserves the approval of all friends of equal rights for his courage and consistency. It remains to be seen whether his letter and resignation are going to have any effect in Washington. Perhaps the President will begin to realize that it is time to pay attention to democracy in the United States when his own friends and followers tell him the same disagreeable truths that have stared at him from the gold and purple banners of the suffrage pickets.—*New York Call, September 12, 1917.*

Dr. Crane on the Price of Liberty

THE price of liberty, as quoted, is eternal vigilance. It is more; it is universal vigilance.

Nobody can be free unless everybody is.

Which point I wish to sharpen and hammer in. . . . . .

Slavery is a danger to any nation, because it makes a politically nonactive group of inhabitants.

Any group or class, for whatever reason, that does not participate in public responsibilities is dangerous—including slaves, women, the idle rich, the highbrows who despise politics, and the anarchists who don't believe in government.

And the same principle holds true of the world. The world will never be "safe for democracy" until the last autocratic government is removed.

Liberty is a boat we're all in. A leak anywhere will sink it.—*Dr. Frank Crane, St. Paul Dispatch, July 20, 1917.*

Maine Turns Away

MAINE has rejected woman suffrage—or, at least, the men of Maine have voted it down.

A score of causes will be assigned for the defeat, and the ancient enemies of universal suffrage will indulge in the usual chortles of victory. But the grand old State of Maine will not be proud of the result of yesterday's election when the time comes for calm, retrospective analysis. There will be a national suffrage amendment long before Maine has a chance to deal with local suffrage again: a national question and answer placing the suffrage problem on a higher plane than the narrow query, "Shall women be the equals of men?"

Universal suffrage today is a part of the world's program of democracy. There is no question of physical equality. There is no question of industrial equality. Equal suffrage means only that women have attained intellectual and political equality, and any man who doubts that must be a victim of old-world provincialism.

On the whole, it may be better that Maine has retained her blindfold. Suffrage is a national subject and it should be met as a national issue. Had Maine accepted suffrage, President Wilson and those other Democrats who retain the fossilized idea of State-by-State conversion would have been the more satisfied to wait for State action. As it is, they must see the hopelessness of localizing the issue. National suffrage before the next national election is not an extravagant hope.—*Boston Journal, September 11, 1917.*

Kaiserism in America

IT is a highly unforunate condition of affairs for America, if at the beginning of our participation in a great war for democracy, the strength of our cause is so uncertain that it must be upheld at home by suppression of constitutional rights and setting aside of law. . . .

If the national policy is so dubious that it cannot meet and overcome opposition and criticism from every American source, the sooner the country knows it the better.

Upholding of the rights of free speech and a free press in the United States is of far greater meaning to the American people than anything that can be gained by the war. And if these guaranteed rights in America are to be so lightly set aside, it is extremely doubtful if the conception of democracy which does so is worth defending.

The most hopeful view to take of these outrages is that they are the isolated acts of peanut politicians and office holders which do not represent a national purpose or policy.—*Miami (Florida) Metropolis, September 8, 1917.*

"There is Yet Hope for Democracy"

IN view of alleged failure on the part of the President to live up to a promise, Mr. Malone felt it incumbent upon him to resign and devote himself to redeeming this promise.

This is quite chivalrous on the part of Mr. Malone. It is knightly, in fact. If he is of the belief that President Wilson broke a promise to the women of the United States, a promise which he, himself, had borne to the women of the suffrage States, he has a right to feel aggrieved and he is to be commended for breaking away, to a certain extent, from his party leader for the reason he has assigned. . . .

Mr. Malone's resignation from an important and lucrative public office because he feels a promise to the women of the nation should have been kept leads to the hope, if not to the belief, that democracy will be kept alive in this great nation. —*Nevada State Journal, September 10, 1917.*

WHY NOT STAY AT
THE MARTINA
Residence for Ladies
Dining Rooms Open for Ladies and Gentlemen
1719 de Sales Street N. W.
Phone North 5647-J Washington, D. C.

The Southern Pharmacy
in the Southern Building
1427 H ST. N. W.
Your Phone Orders Will Be Promptly Filled and Delivered
Phones Main 5490, 5509 Washington, D. C.

TYPEWRITING
MULTIGRAPHING MIMEOGRAPHING
The Duplicating Letter Shop
Work called for and delivered
M. 6723. 1208 K St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

ROSE VALLEY SANITARIUM
MEDIA, PENNA.
"In a valley that's really a hill" near Philadelphia. Beautiful location where health-building is a joy to the weary and ill!
OSTEOPATHY for adjustment, and NATURE CURE methods for every-day living. Booklet on request
RUTH DEETER, D. O., Physician-in-Charge

SHALL J. P. MORGAN OWN THE EARTH?
Most astounding booklet ever published. After the war, Morgan can create a "panic;" dispossess *you* of wealth; reduce millions to abject slavery; proclaim himself emperor of the earth! Government Report *proves* facts. Price, 50 cents—money back if not satisfied. Testimonials free. Agents wanted. JACK PANSY, Publisher, Box 307-W, Grand Rapids, Mich.

A Good Investment!!
Our Common Stock at $10.00 per share will pay you large dividends
We teach designing for Embroidery and Industrial Arts by correspondence. Our Courses belong exclusively to women—why not make it possible for us to have women stockholders only? Our past success in this field is the best guarantee for future success. Full particulars upon request.
The VON Studio, Inc.
6032 Washington Ave. Philadelphia

WOMEN KHAKI CLOTHING

Norfolk Jackets	$3.75
Riding Coats	6.00
Riding Breeches	3.25
Walking Skirts	3.50
Divided Skirts	5.00
Leggins	1.50
Hats	1.00

1331 F St. N. W.
MEYER MILITARY SHOPS

1510 H Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.
J. M. Gidding & Co.
Cincinnati Duluth, Minn.
Fifth Ave. and 46th St.
New York
SUITS COATS BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS WRAPS FURS

WEST END TRUST COMPANY

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

CAPITAL and SURPLUS

$4,000,000

Receives Deposits

Acts as Executor, Administrator Guardian, Trustee, Agent

Sells Foreign Exchange, Travelers' Letters of Credit, Express Checks

Maintains an Up-to-date Safe Deposit Department and a Storage Department for trunks and packages

Manages Real Estate, Collects Rents etc.

Lends Money on Approved Collateral Security

MR. AND MRS. JOHN COLLIER

Announce the Second Year of the

HOME SCHOOL

Sparkill, N. Y.

Boarding School, Boys and Girls between Four and Nine. Sleeping Porches, Open Air School Rooms

Public Speaking
Parliamentary Law

Principles of Common Law
Practical Business Course

Paul Institute
2107 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Hanotte B. Paul, LL.B.
President
Science, Literature
Music and Art

TELEPHONE MAIN 673

Lanman Engraving Co.

HALF TONES, ZINC ETCHINGS
PROCESS ENGRAVERS

POST BUILDING Washington, D. C.

WE DO ALL KINDS OF

PRINTING

Quick Service Reasonable Prices

Hayworth Publishing House

Phone Main 1062 636 G Street N. W.

Established 1904

HARVEY A. STROUD

Electrical Engineer and Contractor

2103 NORTH ELEVENTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Specialize on EYE COMFORT SYSTEM of Lighting in Old or New Installation. Anything else Electrical, I AM ON THE JOB. Just Write, Call or Telephone

DIAMOND 132

THE

A. T. Lewis & Son Dry Goods Co.

Denver, Colo.

A Store where no transaction is complete until the customer is satisfied.

What You Can Do for The Suffragist

THE SUFFRAGIST, as you know, is the only weekly in this country devoted exclusively to the present struggle of American women for political freedom. There is an attempt to suppress that struggle not only by the partisan press and the indifferent mass, but by the Government itself. Will you help the federal suffrage movement by subscribing for THE SUFFRAGIST NOW and getting your friends to subscribe? Will you see that your local editors see THE SUFFRAGIST every week and quote from it? Will you pass on your copies, that an endless chain of women readers may be kept aware of the fight for freedom at home during the Government's fight for "democracy" abroad?

***Circulation Manager*, Miss Elizabeth Smith**

Circulation Committee

Miss Nettie Blasing, *Minn.*
Mrs. Alice Cosu, *La.*
Mrs. Charlotte Dinwiddie, *Col.*
Mrs. Josephine Kempt Linton, *Ill.*
Mrs. Nell K. Irion, *Idaho*
Mrs. Ruby Koenig, *Conn.*
Miss Marion May, *N. Y.*
Mrs. Percy Read, *Va.*
Miss Blanche Robbins, *Iowa*
Mrs. Abram J. Rose, *N. J.*
Miss Helen Scott, *Md.*
Mrs. R. N. Scott, *N. C.*
Mrs. Elizabeth Sherman, *Mass.*
Mrs. M. B. Spellman, *Ind.*
Mrs. Frank Stirlith, *Del.*
Miss Eliza Tonks, *D. C.*
Mrs. Lillian L. Vose, *Pa.*
Mrs. James Whittemore, *Mich.*
Mrs. Neuton Wing, *Ga.*
Miss Louise C. Young, *Texas*
Miss Edna Griffith, *Portland, Ore.*

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers for "The Suffragists"

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 15, 1917

Miss Nettie A. Blasing	3
Mrs. Ella Morton Dean	1
Through Georgia Branch	1
Miss Natalie H. Gray	1
Miss Gladys H. Greiner	2
Miss Rebecca Hourwich	1
Miss Anna C. Levitt	3
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis	3
Miss Anne Martin	1
Through New Jersey Branch	1
Through New York Branch	3
Through North Dakota Branch	1
Through Ohio Branch	1
Through Oregon Branch	1
Miss Alice Paul	1
Through South Carolina Branch	1
Miss Asil A. Spellman	1
Mrs. M. B. Spellman	1
Miss L. C. Sturtevant	1
Mr. Frederick G. Swanson	3
Through Virginia Branch	1
Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore	2
Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe	1
Total	35

Exquisitely Arranged Store

Extraordinary Wide Stock

Exceptionally Reasonable Prices

Get Your Groceries at

G. G. CORNWELL'S

1415 H ST. N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Stone

1222 Walnut St.

"Style without Extravagance" Philadelphia

OPPORTUNITIES THAT WILL INTEREST YOU

Rate for classified advertisements: 15 words 25 cents, 2 cents each additional word. Five insertions for the price of four.

"THE HYGIENE OF SEX," by Maude Glasgow, M. D. Treats of the evolution, development, and abuses of sex. On library list of New York City Board of Education. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.25.

Open Daily 9:00 a. m. to 5:45 p. m.

"THE BUSY CORNER"

S. Kann Sons & Co.

8TH ST. AND PENNA. AVE.

We Invite Newcomers to Washington

To avail themselves of the full courtesies and facilities of this store.

The Only Department Store on the Nation's Main Thoroughfare, Halfway Between the White House and Capitol

A Store of 60 Stores Under One Roof

—Where best qualities, very extensive assortments, courteous service and most reasonable prices combine to make an advantageous supply center for apparel, dress accessories, yard goods, toys, books, homefurnishings, etc.

All Street Cars Reach Our Doors, Direct or by Transfer

Be Democratic

Use Printing like other folks—the sort that fetches business and places you in the *progressive* class

CALL M. 4250

Columbian Printing Company, Inc.

815 Fourteenth Street N.W.

SOCIETY STATIONERY

E. MORRISON PAPER CO.

1009 Pennsylvania Avenue N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mothproof bags and paper for protecting the winter clothing, carpets, rugs, curtains, etc.

Exclusively for Women

Then why not stay at

Hotel Rutledge

Lexington Ave. and 30th St.
New York

Rooms from $1.00 daily

Room with full board from $12.00 to $18.00 per week. All outside rooms

The Rayner Press

The Sign of Quality

PERSONAL SERVICE PRINTING

621 Plymouth Court CHICAGO

In patronizing our advertisers please mention "The Suffragist"